

182 As long as the urban community still comprises only a small part of society, there will be no remarkable change. But when the scope of the urban community is extended and industry, commerce, and the field of services develop and become more important than agriculture, then the way of life changes greatly, agrarian society is transformed into industrial society, rural society is transformed into urban society. In Formosa the modern political-economic system was enforced by a colonial ruler, and industrialization and urbanization were begun only after the Japanese occupation.

2. Blood Relationship and Locality as Principles of Social Cohesion.

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618 Among the place names in Formosa there are not a few called after the surname of a clan. Examples are, Tan-tso (Ch'en-tsu), which means the hamlet of the clan of the Ch'ens, or Lim-tso-liao (Lin-tsu-liao), which means the cottages of the clan of the Lins. Though hitherto not adequately noticed, this is an indication of the existence of the so-called clan-village, and it is a significant stage in social development.

103 Again, as in other countries, there are places named after the original native town of the residents. In one case the local name of a mainland town or city was adopted in Formosa, such as Chaochow (Ch'ao-chou) in southern Taiwan. In other cases, a prefix or suffix was attached to the

167 Japanese colonial government, which wanted the Taiwanese to sever their ties with their fatherland.

167 The early Chinese settlers came mostly to
618 Formosa with their kinsfolk or town's people. On arriving on the island, the family group settled in a new place, and frequently used its clan name (surname) as the name of the village. This is the clan village. At first the clan village may have had only kinsfolk with the same surname as its members. Later on families related by marriage might join the village. As the people with the same surname consider themselves as belonging to the same clan, and intermarriage within the clan was barred by custom, all in-laws necessarily had a different surname. In-laws were the first heterogeneous element in the homogeneous clan village, but their number was very small. More in-laws might come to live, craftsmen or itinerant merchants might come and stay for a longer or shorter time. As time passed, the proportion of heterogeneous elements increased, but the original clan was still dominant in numbers, and constituted the so-called influential surname of the village. For instance, there was a Lim-tso-liao (means the hamlet of the Lins) near Peikang, Tainan. A survey done in 1930 showed that there were 327 households, consisting of 18 different surnames. Of these households 76.6 per cent were the kinsfolk of the influential clan of the Lins, and the other 17 surnames made up only 23.4 per cent of the total households.¹

1. Yoshio Tomita, "A Study on the Settlement in Taiwan," Symposium of the Culture of Taiwan, Vol. I, 1943, Taipei, p. 179.

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618 Professor Y. Tomita found that even though there were many villages which did not have the clan name as their place name, nevertheless each still retained one influential clan.² It is evident that settlement with kinsfolk was fairly common in early times.

5. Villages Formed by the People of the Same Native Town.

167 A survey made by the Japanese administration in 1926 revealed that a great number of villages in Formosa were formed by Chinese immigrants from the same native town on the Mainland. This type of settlement was more general than the clan village.

Both the clan village and the village consisting of the people of the same native town were highly homogeneous. As time passed, heterogeneous elements gradually increased. If the village was located in some place convenient for commerce and transportation, the heterogeneous elements rapidly grew. In the meantime, in response to the current social situation, the village community became the basic unit of social life, whether it derived from a clan village or from a village consisting of the people of the same native town.

6. The Function of the Village.

621 In pre-modern China, governmental administrative activity practically ended at the prefecture level. Most local affairs were left to the local community in the village and town, except

2. Ibid., pp. 176-188. Tomita's study was based on census report of 1930.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

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In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

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Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

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Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single village communities were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everyday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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